20c • JUNE 7, 1954

Backing into the Atomic Age

New Republic

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• EDITORIAL

Will We Move Forward or Backward in Our Development of Atomic Energy?

THE CLAMOR of the Army-McCarthy hearings overpowered another set of hearings on Capitol Hill—those designed to amend the Atomic Energy Act of 1946. Fewer spectators than reporters turned up at these hearings. What the press did report was sandwiched in on the financial page. The hearings jumped to Page One only when a controversy broke out into the open over the issue of "one-man rule" in the Atomic Energy Commission.

When it was passed, the Atomic Energy Act of 1946 (usually called the McMahon Act) was heralded as "the most revolutionary law of the land." Now eight years later the McMahon Act is getting what W. Sterling Cole (R, N.Y., its co-sponsor with Bourke Hickenlooper) calls an "across-the-board" modernization. Representative Cole emphatically denies that the new bill is designed to be an atomic power law.

Careful reading of the new bill released last week in its revised form reveals that it is essentially a hodge-podge piece of legislation. Its main aim seems to be to give private industry a bigger role in taking a crack at the peacetime-power atom. Industry has been notably reluctant to put its own money on the line for A-power development. Whether or not it will be any more eager if the amendments succeed is open to question.

But quite apart from the atomic power angle of the Cole-Hickenlooper bill, there are other angles which have received little or no discussion.

Before enumerating these, one should examine the over-all amendment to see if it is truly a modernization. Unfortunately, it is not. In many respects—on secrecy, for example—it would make Senator McMahon rotate in his grave at a lively clip. The whole philosophy of the bill is to ignore the realities of 1954—the technological achievements of the Soviets, the need for international co-operation with our allies, the need for more public information on the atom, and the need for civilian control of atomic energy.

Only one or two have testified before the Joint Committee on Atomic Energy as to the bill's deficiencies in these areas. Only one atomic scientist has been a witness before the committee—a very curious state of affairs to say the least. Is the scientific community completely asleep, unaware of the real meaning of the new bill? Or are there no scientists left whose lips are not sealed by being in the Atomic Energy Commission or in other government agencies?

On the issue of civilian versus military control of atomic energy, for which McMahon fought so valiantly, the new legislation slants predominantly toward military mastery. This at a time when according to Admiral Lewis Strauss, present Chairman of the AEC, the military demands are within sight of fulfillment.

While the new bill will allow the military to share certain atomic data with their counterparts in NATO, it also hands over to the Defense Department joint responsibility for the control of domestic information. This new provision is certain to shut off the tiny driblets of public information which the AEC lets out. Presumably the AEC's one- and two-sentence news releases on H-bomb tests will be pared down to single exclamation points.

IF THE tight military grip does not completely shut off the flow of atomic information, then Section 228 is a sure-fire shut-off valve. This is the "innocent disclosure" section better known on Capitol Hill as the "absolute security" provision which is meant to intimidate any member of the press bold enough to write about the atom. Strongest support for this provision comes from the Joint Committee and from the Defense Department—two places which in the past have been the most brazen in leaking atomic secrets. The Generals and the Senators retain their exclusive prerogative in violating security while self-righteously pointing to the press as the violators.

If the writers of the new atomic energy bill have been tough on domestic front information, they have been no less charitable toward the sharing of atomic data with our allies. Except for the proviso that certain weapons data can be shared with NATO, the new bill is hostile to sharing any atomic secrets with our friends across the water. It is pristinely in favor of such sharing, but Section 123 presents so many obstacles to international co-operation that our Allies will get more atomic data from the Soviets than from the USA.

This, of course, is directly opposed to the President's wishes, and it flies in the face of the Eisenhower Atomic

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Pool Proposal. One needs little imagination to see that if we are reluctant to share a paper secret with an Ally we will scarcely ship abroad an atom of U-235. By refusing to condone the exporting of atomic energy we run the risk of playing second fiddle to the British. Their eyes are open to the international market for a new and relatively cheap source of power. And they are probably already ahead of us in the peacetime A-power race.

Chairman Cole and Chet Holifield (D, Cal.) have clashed over the matter of whether or not the new bill is designed to implement the President's pool proposal. Holifield stoutly maintains that "it doesn't go one percent of the way" and Cole argues that it answers Eisenhower's proposal. Industry, which has popped up with more witnesses than any other group, seems little interested in the international aspects of the legislation. With few exceptions the international lameness of the bill has gone unchallenged.

Mr. Cole seems in a hurry to get his bill reported out to the Congress. His aides talk confidently of enactment this session, and queried as to the brevity of the hearings, they point to last summer's prolonged public hearings by way of justification for the speedy spring hearings. But last summer none of the witnesses knew what kind of a bill would be reported out. Besides, why all the rush?

Is atomic power ready to pop out of its cocoon and emerge full blown? Is this the reason? Judging from the long-term estimates given by expert witnesses this hardly seems to be the case. The AEC experts look to "two generations" of power plants before A-power will prove practical in an economic sense.

Is military security the reason for the rush? It hardly seems likely for the exchange of atomic data necessary for NATO could easily be handled by the separate Feighan Bill (HR 8701).

There is no real reason for a hasty amendment of the McMahon Act. Nothing will be lost, and much may even be gained by shelving the present Cole-Hickenlooper amendment.

ADVOCATES of the new legislation claim that by opening up the atomic field to private enterprise we will accelerate our lagging A-power development. It is argued that while big business is now doing the bulk of the work under contract it has no real incentive to push the development rapidly. Lacking favorable patent provisions, the ability to own atomic power plants or production facilities, industry says it can not really do a job. The new act provides intricate licensing arrangements and patent concessions which industry publicly professes are satisfactory but which it privately asserts are not all they wish for.

At the heart of the industrial profit-motive versus government socialistic development of peacetime atomic power is the basic riddle of motivation. It has been a lack of motivation inside AEC circles which has stalled the peacetime atom. Inside the shielding secrecy of the atomic agency there has been no sustained drive to produce atomic power. Few top-drawer scientists were attracted to the work, and the few who were quickly became hamstrung by endless delays at a policy level in the Commission.

THE Cole-Hickenlooper bill will not stiffen the backbones of the weak sisters sitting at the policy tables of the AEC. However, by virtue of its much disputed "principal-officer" clause (*NR*—May 31, 1954) it may put the present chairman Admiral Strauss in a position to dictate atomic power policy. The Admiral has many petty faults, which he is apparently unable to surmount, but no one disputes his ability to make decisions. If Mr. Strauss can keep control of himself and not rock the whole AEC boat each time he is displeased, he may be able to chart a favorable course for A-power development.

Quite apart from the matter of industrial enterprise, there is a conjunction of circumstances which provides a favorable climate for peacetime A-power. (1) The great burden of fulfilling the military demands is being lightened so that effort can be channeled to non-military atomic needs (2) Our hand is being forced by competition across the Atlantic by the British and perhaps the Soviets, too (3) The demand for electrical power continues to outreach the supply and (4) Uranium power, with its zero-fuel transportation costs, promises to revolutionize the economy of fuel-deficient nations.

To these the President has added a fifth: namely, the proposal for international co-operation on A-power. The development of the peacetime atom by joint Allied projects might partially offset the "warmonger" label which the Soviets have pinned on our atomic endeavors. Naturally such co-operation would be a unifying force for the Free World.

All of these factors point up the importance of atomic power. In our opinion, this new source of power is so important that we ought not to plunge overboard for a hasty hodge-podge like the Cole-Hickenlooper amendment.

Despite its good intentions the Cole-Hickenlooper Amendment does not modernize the original McMahon Act. It does not implement the President's atomic pool proposal. It does not relax atomic secrecy. It does not permit freer exchange of data with our Allies.

The bill should be relegated to the Committee files. Meanwhile the President should be urged to establish a civilian advisory group to make a complete re-examination of the issues involved in the development of this new source of energy. The nation and the world badly need a candid report on the atom—an assessment of the political, social, economic and international implications. The latter was wisely anticipated by the writers of the McMahon Act but no such report has appeared. Until it does the nation is simply not prepared to judge the potential of atomic power.

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T. R. B.

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Washington Wire

The uncomfortable fact must now, we think, be faced that Eisenhower is not going to be a strong President. This is bad news for about everybody. America is organized on the Queen Bee principle, and we are all members of the hive. Weakness of leadership now, in the present particularly frightening world situation, endangers Democrats just as much as Republicans.

There is no partisan bias in facing the situation. In 1952, a Republican President was about due in the political see-saw, and we got one in Ike who came from the liberal side and who, most important, was an ardent internationalist. Ike was and is immensely likeable and means well. But he is not giving the strong leadership which most Americans sought and prayed for.

At home Ike has a constitutional crisis on his hands due simply, we believe, to his own fault. He would not deal with the McCarthy issue. This has seemed particularly tragic to some of us because McCarthyism is a moral issue and Ike—a devout, God-fearing man—has been unwilling to deal with it frontally. The President says he will not demean the office by engaging in personalities. This is sincere and highminded, no doubt, and it is folly. It implies that Ike is above FDR, Wilson, T.R. and Lincoln. They engaged in personalities. The constitutional crisis comes, in the words of Adlai Stevenson, because the Administration would not "man the barricades."

The Administration's indecision abroad is probably more dangerous than at home. This global struggle is no child's game; the weapons are atomic. It seems incredible to this column that Ike has not already gone to the microphone and told the nation as much as he could of the Indo-Chinese situation. If policy is still uncertain, he could nevertheless inform and unify the nation by a simple explanation of the problems involved. The President owes it to the people to take them into his confidence; he owes it to his own leadership to do the same. But there seems no longer to be a clear voice in Washington. Statements contradict, actions fail to coincide. Why is our defense budget cut, the Army reduced from 20 to 17 Divisions, the silly game played of "New Look" and "Massive Retaliation"? A weak President offers two dangers in foreign affairs: that he won't act (as Truman did in the Greek-Turkish and Korean crises) when he should; and that he will follow the line of least resistance and act rashly when he should not.

Is anti-intellectualism present today in America? We have been jotting down a list, for what it is worth:

Harvard—the McCarthy attack is familiar.

Rockefeller, Carnegie and Ford Foundations are under furious attack before the Reece Committee in the House, on the ground that they are plotting and promoting socialism.

Paul G. Hoffman, chairman of the Studebaker board, is barred by the Indianapolis World War Memorial from speaking to the Indiana Civil Liberties Union. He is forced to speak at a hotel.

Dr. Robert Oppenheimer — "Mister A-Bomb": under suspension from his post as adviser to the Atomic Energy Commission on security grounds.

Dr. Ralph J. Bunche, top-ranking American at the UN and Nobel Prize winner, now undergoing a loyalty review. Screening of all US nationals at UN is ordered by Ike.

Val R. Lorwin, after being twice investigated and cleared on loyalty grounds at the State Department, was indicted by the Justice Department after becoming a university professor. This indictment—the only one brought against one of McCarthy's celebrated "81 cases"—is now dropped and the Justice Department attorney, William A. Gallagher, dismissed, on the charge that Gallagher faked evidence and lied to the jury.

Paul Adrien Dirac, mathematics professor at Cambridge University and Nobel Prize winner, is refused a US visa to study a year at the Princeton Institute of higher mathematics (run by Oppenheimer). No specific reason given.

Owen D. Lattimore, former head of Johns Hopkins School of Far Eastern Affairs, on trial for perjury.

Library of Congress funds slashed by the House on grounds it is paying too much attention to the public, not enough to Congress.

Fulbright program and Smith-Mundt program for exchange of students and leaders between the US and 70 nations cut by the House from $15 million to $9 million in interest of national "economy."

Is anti-intellectualism rife? Well, make out your own list.

The third big GOP drive to halt or hamstring the McCarthy-Army battle partly succeeded. Last week two principals, Struve Hensel from the Army side, Francis Carr from the McCarthy side, were eliminated for the time at least. The four GOP Senators grimly voted "yes"; the three Democrats angrily voted "no." The action hints of Republican desperation. They are trying to salvage Joe. Senator McCarthy made charges against Struve Hensel without a shred of apparent evidence; he is now relieved of the burden of supporting his charges under oath or of eating his words. As for Carr, Army counsel Welch, the Boston pixie, vainly pleaded that his testimony was "essential." Dropping him amounts to whitewash. We wait for the TV jury to be heard from; editorial barrages already rumble as this is written. We think the GOP Senators are panic-stricken.

In Boston, it appears, pixies are Republican. There was grimness under elfish humor when Welch told the committee his astonishment that he, "a Republican for 64 years," was able to convince "only Democrats" on the committee. The astonishment may find stern expression at the polls.

Published weekly and Copyrighted, 1954 in the USA by New Republic, Inc., publishing office, 301 N St., N.E., Washington 2, D.C. Editorial and business communications should be addressed to 1826 Jefferson Place, N.W., Washington 6, D. C. Entered as second-class matter September 26, 1950 at the post office at Washington, D. C., under the Act of March 3, 1879. Single copy, 20c; Yearly subscription, $7.00; Foreign, $8.00; Armed Forces personnel or students, $5.00.

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Noteworthy This Week

BEHIND THE HEADLINES

Somebody's Hobby

HOW BROADLY should the unsatisfactory loyalty apparatus we depend on, by default, for protection against subversives be used? Surely only where security is involved. Yet it is now being used to determine who may conduct not-"secret," un-"classified," non-"restricted," not-even-"confidential" research projects.

US Public Health Service research grants used to be awarded upon the recommendation or approval of a National Advisory Council of scientists. Now it is learned that 30 persons, already certified as to professional competency, have been denied grants on "political" grounds. No investigations, no hearings—the action in each case was taken in accordance with a directive from Secretary of Health, Education and Welfare, Oveta Culp Hobby, to "deny support" where "information" is brought to the Department's attention indicating "serious questions" about loyalty. How does the "question" raised by this "information" get to be "serious" unless it is investigated and evaluated, and the person involved permitted to speak his piece?

How is it that when the basic excuse for the clumsy "suspect" approach—the over-riding demands of security—is absent, that approach is nevertheless adopted, and in its crudest form.

The Negro Voter

UNTIL 1940, the political allegiance of the American Negro was traditionally to the Republican Party. With the recent Supreme Court rejection of segregation in the schools to strengthen their hand, Republicans hope to recapture a substantial percentage of those lost votes. The hope is largely based on a Republican poll which found a substantial majority of Negroes questioned discrediting President Eisenhower and Chief Justice Earl Warren for the decision. The Republican National Committee has made up a list of 74 "marginal Congressional districts," and has found that in 17 of these, Negroes constitute more than the critical 5 percent of the voters which could decide the election.

But of the 3 million registered American Negro voters, more than one million are in the South. The political significance there of the Supreme Court decision has been illustrated by the effort of Democratic Sen. Alton Lennon to defeat his challenger in the Democratic primary, former Governor Kerr Scott, by accusing him of being one of those who long have sought the decision. To Republicans, however, the key fact in the South is that Negroes, whatever their gratitude for this decision, know that in voting Republican they would be wasting a vote which could, in the Democratic primary, help choose the candidate, and the office-holder, most acceptable to them. But although the segregation ruling will probably have little effect on Negro votes in the South, it is apt to have a considerable effect on the White, Dixiecrat vote won over in 1952 by Eisenhower's ambiguous civil-right's stand.

In the North, Republican hopes are better founded. Thirteen of the 17 marginal districts where Negroes could decide the election are in Northern or "border" states, in which a real choice between parties is possible. The Republicans will concentrate their efforts here. But they will be up against a stumbling block which they freely admit: Negroes are often the last hired and the first fired. A slump hits them first. And to most of them the dominant issue of the 1954 election will be the economic health of the nation in general, and of their own area in particular.

One Chance for Housing

THERE IS only the barest possibility that the nation will get any public housing from this Congress—although the 1950 census showed 15 million "substandard" American homes, *i.e.* "in slums," "dilapidated," or "without plumbing."

The House has passed a "1954 Housing Bill"—but without any public housing in it. All the bill allows is completion of some 33,000 units already contracted for. Recently the Senate Banking and Currency Committee accepted an amendment to that bill by Sen. Burnet R. Maybank (D, S.C.) which revived the *authorization* in the 1949 act: 135,000 units a year. But Maybank — who has helped save the housing program several times since 1949—now has declared he will "oppose any public housing program." The reason: a Supreme Court refusal to review a California court order forbidding segregation in a San Francisco project.

Most Southern Democrats will probably follow Maybank, especially if the Administration gives any hint of interpreting the Supreme Court decision as applicable in all states. Yet even if all the Southerners except a few like Estes Kefauver (D, Tenn.), and Mike Monroney (D, Okla.) join the anti-housing forces, the bill could still pass the Senate by a vote in the neighborhood of 49-a California court order forbidding seg-46. And maneuvers on the floor might lure a few more Republicans to the housing side.

But housing bills are written in conference—where members of the House and Senate meet to iron out their differences. The position of the House delegates is clear. From the Senate will come Republicans Capehart, Bennett, Ives and Bricker, with Southern Democrats Maybank, Robertson and Fulbright.

Only extreme pressure by the Administration on some Republican members from both Houses could bring any public housing at all out of such a lineup. Last week the Administration had a chance to fight for its trade program—so carefully shaped during a year of "study" to offend protectionists as little as possible. It did not.

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While You Weren't Looking . . .

Justice Finds That Justice Was Overlooked

THE GOVERNMENT has withdrawn its prosecution of Val R. Lorwin, former State Department employee charged with lying to a loyalty review board. In moving for dismissal, the Department of Justice admitted that its indictment had been obtained by misrepresentation —something it has somehow overlooked since December 3, 1953, until today, 5 months later.

The Department of Justice alone had access to the transcript of the Grand Jury hearing which returned the indictment. Not until it became probable that the transcript would be examined by the Court, upon motion by the defense, were the "misrepresentations" contained in it admitted: behavior which reflects upon the entire Criminal Division, not only upon the prosecutor, William Gallagher, who has been made the scapegoat and dismissed by the Division Chief Warren Olney 3rd. Gallagher's tactics were not condemned by his superiors while there seemed a chance he would succeed.

Val Lorwin was number 64 (and the only one ever prosecuted) on the famous "list of 81 Communists in the State Department" read to the Senate by Joe McCarthy on January 20, 1950. On July 27, 1950, one Harold W. Metz wrote to the FBI that Lorwin had shown him a Communist Party membership card in 1935, when they shared an apartment — *the Communists did not issue membership cards in 1935.* Investigation was begun, and in February, 1951, Lorwin was suspended pending a loyalty board hearing—held because he chose to fight the charges instead of resigning. During those hearings, 91 persons testified not only to his loyalty, but to his anti-Communist writings and efforts over the years. He was cleared and reinstated with back pay to March 28, 1952. In June he resigned and joined the faculty of the University of Chicago.

On December 3, 1953, the Justice Department convinced a Federal Grand Jury to indict Lorwin for lying to the Loyalty Board. That Grand Jury deliberated for less than an hour. As the resulting trial proceeded, it became clear that the pivot of the government's case was Metz's testimony before the loyalty board—it had been given to the Grand Jury. Lorwin's attorneys asked to see that testimony. The government refused, claiming it to be "confidential" loyalty data. But the Court ruled that the defense had a right to it, and the Department of Justice suddenly became concerned about justice to Lorwin. Why?

With the Metz testimony to support the move, attorneys for the defense could, and planned to, move for a dismissal on the grounds that this testimony, which had not been considered conclusive by the Loyalty Board before which Lorwin *had to prove his innocence beyond doubt,* could not be considered conclusive when the burden of proof lay with the government. And the defense would have asked the Court to examine the transcript of the Grand Jury hearing to determine on just what basis the indictment had been granted. Had the Court examined that transcript it would have found just what the Department suddenly hastened to admit—their attorney had told the Grand Jury:

That the government had two FBI agents who would identify Lorwin as a Communist and testify at the trial—*there are no such FBI witnesses.*

That it would be useless for the Grand Jury to subpoena Lorwin and his wife to testify because they would plead the Fifth Amendment — *both already had testified, elsewhere at length, had under oath vigorously denied Communist affiliations, and were perfectly willing to do it again.*

Now a "high Justice Department official" is quoted as saying that if the case had been handled fairly, there would never have been an indictment in the first place. But there has been an indictment — for disloyalty. And it stands on Lorwin's record. It will not be erased by anonymous "leaks." F. Joseph Donohue, one of the defense attorneys—who as the government prosecutor of Harry Bridges knows the care with which criminal charges concerning disloyalty can be and should be prepared —finds the case a "frightening" indication of the "cavalier" manner in which the Department of Justice now is handling such matters.

Lorwin—who spent 19 years in government service, civilian and military—is after all a man who as an expert on International Labor Problems is on record as fighting Communist attempts to infiltrate labor movements. When the trial began, he was working on, and will soon publish, a book on Communist influence in the French labor union. Even a cursory examination of the record made at the loyalty hearings could have prevented the "mistake." Herbert Brownell's Department of Justice now claims it made. The only thing which can begin to erase this stigma from Lorwin's life is full disclosure of just what was presented to the Grand Jury—Justice Department attorneys have revealed sections they hoped would strengthen their case—and a public apology.

New Republic A JOURNAL OF OPINION
VOLUME 130, NUMBER 23, ISSUE 2063

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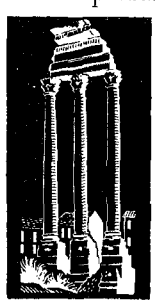
Rome Dispatch TITO TAKES THE LEAD

Marshal Tito's visit to Marshal Papagos in Athens has implications so much broader than the Balkans that Moscow is showing concern. The man who was once the Soviet East's Number Two personality in political aggression against the Western world is now well on the way to becoming not only the West's Number One military figure in Southeastern Europe but also second only to Germany's Konrad Adenauer as an instrument of high policy in all of continental Europe.

The trip to Athens, following the one to Ankara, continues a process begun with Adenauer's visits to Greece, Turkey and Italy.

The immediately apparent purpose is to consider the transformation—despite the objections of Italy—of the Balkan friendship pact into a defensive military alliance linking Yugoslavia, Greece and Turkey. Also with this objective in view the foreign affairs ministers of the three countries are meeting in Belgrade to study the technical reports of their military chiefs of staff. In addition, Papagos—in close contact with Tito—has asked the US, Britain and France to convene a meeting of the Greek, Yugoslav and Turkish ambassadors in Washington, London and Paris.

Italy objects to the Balkan military pact on two grounds: that a solution of the Trieste problem, satisfactory to Italian national aspirations, should be achieved before the Yugoslavs are allowed to join their military forces with those of two nations which are members of NATO, and that Italy, as a member of NATO, has the right to veto a pact which might lead to the use of Atlantic forces in defense of Yugoslavia, not a member of the alliance.



Washington and London are showing little sympathy with the objections. The situation in Southeast Asia is so grave, they feel, that everything possible must be done quickly to strengthen the one not only in Southeast Europe but in the West generally. Both capitals are convinced—Paris being too concerned elsewhere to count for much at this time in the building of positions of strength anywhere—that the time has come to reach a settlement—at least temporary and partial — of the Trieste problem. So secret negotiations undertaken by Washington and London have been going on for more than two months. And the plan, if Scelba who is generally willing to co-operate, finds difficulties with his domestic public opinion, is to help him by various concessions, especially economic, on the home front. But if these fail to mollify the Italian nationalists (and their Communist allies), the solution may be put into effect despite, without, or even against their views.

The answer to the second objection is that single members or groups of members of the NATO have the right to make military treaties with non-members. The US bilateral treaty with Spain and Turkey's treaty with Pakistan are precedents.

It is in this connection that Tito's travelings and the military treaty that will almost certainly result from them, become of more than Balkan interest and of serious concern to Moscow. For the recent declarations of the Yugoslav president of a willingness to have his country join the EDC mean in fact that the best hope for some equivalent of EDC is now no longer the original form: it is a pattern of interlocking military arrangements.

It is conceivable—though far from probable—that if Yugoslavia enters a military pact with the NATO members, Greece and Turkey, and if the Trieste deal is announced before or during or even after that takes place, Scelba will be driven out of office in Rome; and a new, nationalist Italian Government will threaten to secede from NATO. In compensation, however, it is more than likely that the direct consequence in the broader and more important frame of reference will be that a French refusal to ratify the EDC will this time be definitely written off; and West Germany will be accepted as a member of NATO.

The proceedings at Geneva have shown to political insiders that the subject which still interests and concerns Soviet Russia most is not Indo-China but German rearmament. The Russians are doing everything in their power to exploit the domestic French situation, tragically worsened by the Indo-China problem, in the direction of blocking the ratification of the EDC. And they are succeeding.

Behind Tito's maneuvering is a plan to link the new Balkan military pact first with NATO and then with a rump EDC—a European army with West Germany but without France. Adenauer is supporting him strongly behind the scenes. And Washington is quite willing to let him try his hand. So far as Italy is concerned, the assumption is that no statesman or group of statesmen, no matter how committed to refusing a Trieste deal and hence an indirect arrangement with Yugoslavia, would dare to break away entirely from the US connection, if not from the Atlantic alliance. If refusal to ratify the EDC means being isolated with the French against the US, Italy will want back in on almost any terms.

In any event, it appears, the risk of losing Italy is to be taken. Quite obviously the Greeks and the Turks are supporting Yugoslavia. Together these three nations count for more than Italy. This is especially so at a time when the doctrine of massive retaliation by nuclear weapons is being modified at least to the extent of a return to emphasis on conventional weapons, especially foot soldiers—both in Asia and in Europe.

Above all, the denial of veto power to Italy in NATO on the issue of the Balkan pact is a precedent for a similar denial to the French on the issue of admitting Germany into some sort of pattern—NATO, rump EDC or bilateral US-West German—by which the German rearmament can be begun quickly. And it may be therefore that while "united action" in Asia was holding the limelight in Geneva, the kind of pattern of military geography and geopolitics which the Eisenhower Administration and the Pentagon has wanted all the time in Europe was in the shadows being brought closer and closer to marching reality.

Rome FRANK GORRELL

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The Riddle of Francis Carr

by Michael Straight

NEXT to John Edgar Hoover, Senator McCarthy seemed to admire Frank Carr above all men. Of his Executive Director, the Senator said: "Frank Carr is the most outstanding young man I have ever seen with the most outstanding record."

If the Senator spoke the truth, then who more than this most outstanding young man could he wish to testify on his behalf? And yet when his turn approached at last, Frank Carr was gone—banned from the Senate Caucus Room by Senator McCarthy and his Republican allies.

For 20 days Frank Carr filled the chair at Senator McCarthy's side. He studied black photostats of newspaper stories. He reached into five brief cases as bulging as himself for papers that Roy Cohn demanded. He drew doodles of an object that resembled an igloo. And he mumbled one word "yes" when all the principals were polled. Carr had been Chief of the FBI in the key New York area. He had joined the McCarthy Committee

TRIAL BY TELEVISION—IV

under great pressure and very reluctantly when the former Staff Director, Dr. J. B. Matthews, became too unsavory. He seemed now like an American van der Lubbe sunk in lethargy, and utterly insensitive to the drama that raged around him.

Carr was an important witness for the Army and the Eisenhower Administration. He had called on General Ryan at Fort Dix to obtain special treatment for Private Schine. He had spent three hours attempting to convince the Counsel of the Army that Private Schine and the investigation of the Army were closely related matters. He had been the principal intermediary between the Army and the Subcommittee in January and February when the Army's relations with Roy Cohn and the Senator became strained. And it was Carr, the non-lawyer, according to the Army, who had made the hard offer of a trade.

But if Frank Carr was important to the Army, he was surely twice as important to Joseph McCarthy. Carr was the author of the memoranda which formed the basis of McCarthy's charges and constituted almost the only written documents he had offered as proof that his allegations were true. Carr was the corroborating witness who went with Roy Cohn to the conferences of October 2, November 6, December 10 and December 17. Carr had ridden in the back seat of Cohn's automobile during that famous ride up Park Avenue from Foley Square. Secretary Stevens might blush with indignation, and John Adams smile and shake his head, as Cohn and McCarthy repeated their versions of the row. But if Frank Carr confirmed their stories, who among the vast audience could doubt the word of Mr. Hoover's trusted protegé?

Obviously Roy Cohn and his master would stand or fall together. On the basis of all known facts their greatest asset was Francis Carr. And yet, next to the demand for adjournment, the effort to drive Carr from the Caucus Room was the most powerful of the undercover efforts carried on by the Republican side. The principal endeavor of Senator Mundt was to remove Carr, and few observers would have taken a mortgage on the Chairman's word that his concern was for "old-fashioned justice" alone. When the hearings recessed for one week, the followers of Senator McCarthy were treated to the shocking spectacle of a baffled man, muttering into a television screen, "I'm frankly at a loss, I just don't know what to do." His dilemma, most reporters supposed, was that he wished to walk out of the hearings and could not as long as Frank Carr was left behind to testify.

He did not walk out; for once again his dilemma was resolved for him, by his friends.

When the committee convened on the afternoon of May 26, the little known voice of Senator Dworshak was heard. This time, he had the motion:

> SENATOR DWORSHAK: I now move that the charges involving Mr. Struve Hensel be dismissed for lack of any testimony whatsoever involving him or sustaining such charges and he no longer be considered a party in interest in this controversy. And he be dismissed as a witness.
>
> And also that at this time the charges preferred against Mr. Frank Carr be dismissed because the proof and testimony concerning Mr. Carr are wholly insufficient to sustain such charges.
>
> And I further move that he no longer be considered a party in interest in this controversy. And that he also be dismissed as a witness.

On its face, this resolution was ridiculous. Of course there was a "lack of any Army testimony whatsoever" involving Mr. Hensel—the witnesses on the McCarthy side had not yet been called. The resolution in fact had to be read from end to beginning. The key sentence was the last, that Frank Carr "be dismissed as a witness." To

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consummate this move Carr had to be withdrawn as a party to the dispute. And in turn to justify his removal the same treatment had to be accorded to Mr. Hensel. The two cases were utterly dissimilar. And after a time the still small voice of Mr. Welch was heard:

> MR. WELCH: Senator Dworshak, I would count it, Sir, a great courtesy to me if you would split the motion into two parts . . . there is no lawyer in the courtroom who does not know that very different considerations apply to these two men . . .

The Senator refused, for a revealing reason.

> SENATOR DWORSAK: Mr. Welch . . . You are practical enough to know that you must have some balance or compensating feature. . . .

Senator Dworshak later explained to this reporter what he meant. It was in effect that Senator McCarthy would fight the elimination of Mr. Hensel unless he had his way in driving his own Executive Director, before he could be heard, from the Senate Caucus Room.

To any honorable man, this was an unthinkable course to pursue. Senator McCarthy had held that Mr. Hensel was a liar and a war profiteer who deliberately instigated false charges against the Subcommittee and its staff in order to cover up his own "misconduct and possible law violations." Mr. Hensel in turn had branded the Senator's action "scandalous malice and . . . cowardly irresponsibility . . ." and had called the charges against him "barefaced lies." Now, rather than reply to these allegations and offer testimony to support his own grave charges, Senator McCarthy said that he had better ways to occupy his time.

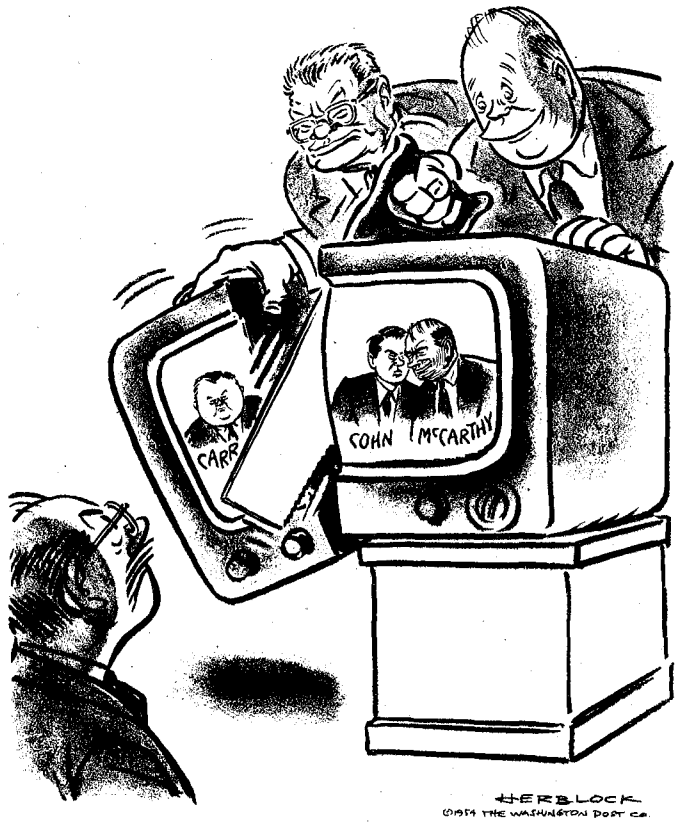
When it was seen that neither Senator McCarthy nor any Republican Senator would seek the honorable course, a man who had never finished high school stepped into their place. Some who watched him smiled first in delight at the sophistication of this political gesture. Later they understood John McClellan was speaking not as a Democrat but as the one judicial figure in the room.

> SENATOR MCCLELLAN: This would be one of the grossest violations upon those who made the charges. It would be tantamount to saying to Senator McCarthy and Mr. Cohn that "your charges were baseless, they were an imposition upon this committee and they are irresponsible."
>
> If you want to place that stigma upon Senator McCarthy and Mr. Cohn, you may do so. But as far as I am concerned we are going to get the proof or have the charges withdrawn.

The Republicans were impatient. Before the motion he seconded had even been discussed, Senator Dirksen observed: "It occurs to me that we have ventilated this matter long enough."

But Senator Symington had caught McClellan's closing point and he leaned forward.

> SENATOR SYMINGTON: Have the charges against Mr. Hensel been withdrawn?



A little more picture cropping

> SENATOR MCCARTHY: . . . Nothing has been withdrawn . . . I have one objective . . . to get the show off the road.

Into the mounting tension of the scene, Symington brought the shattering force of a morally outraged man.

> SENATOR SYMINGTON: To dismiss these charges and leave this man as the number one legal man in the Defense Department where everybody is looking for corruption to me is just unbelievable! . . . From this day on he will operate on the basis of the charges that were made and dismissed before he was ever given the opportunity to answer them.

But the point was lost. Hensel, a heavy-set fighter, had returned to the Pentagon leaving as his attorney one who resembled more a Colonel of the Guards in a Gilbert and Sullivan opera. With a parade ground roar, Mr. Bryan supported the Dworshak motion.

Once again Senator Dirksen called for a vote. Until then no mention had been made of the real reason for the motion. But as Senator Mundt rapped for the roll, Mr. Welch inquired about Francis Carr.

First Mr. Welch appealed to Senator Dworshak. He was rejected. In vain hope he turned to Mr. Jenkins. The Committee Counsel appeared genuinely distressed:

> MR. JENKINS: I am in no wise responsible for the policies adopted by the committee . . . my hands are tied . . . please don't cast the burden or the onus

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upon me because, as you know and everyone knows, I am taking orders from those who employ me.

Mr. Jenkins looked appealingly at the other Republican Senators. Only Senator Potter seemed uncertain. Senator Dirksen reviewed the weak case that the Army had made. With heavy sarcasm he ended:

SENATOR DIRKSEN: This is amazing, isn't it! Where are the facts, Mr. Welch? Where is the affirmative testimony? We have been waiting for it!

Mr. Welch was very, very sad. He tried once more:

MR. WELCH: I wish to say a word to my friend Senator Dirksen whose voice I envy so much. You don't strike me, Senator, as being open to conversion. . . . But I do wish to point out. . . .

He reviewed the evidence once more, and still looking at the impassive Senator, he concluded: "I say to you, Sir, you cannot direct a verdict in the face of that evidence. Only Senator Dirksen's eyelids fluttered. On the deeply lined face of the ranking Democrat alone could Mr. Welch discern some sympathy. He ended.

MR. WELCH: I observe a nod from a lawyer whose opinion I respect although I differ with his politics.

If Carr was lost as a principal, could he then be saved as a witness—on the Army side? Mr. Welch began on this new endeavour and at once Senator McCarthy joined the battle with all his force.

SENATOR MCCARTHY: As a judge I have seen many dishonest attempts by clever little lawyers to smear and distort the facts. But in all my record I have never seen a man do what Mr. Welch is doing now. . . .

Then Chairman Mundt joined forces with Senator McCarthy and indicated that Frank Carr would never be called as a witness. As if this blow were not sufficient to Mr. Welch, he added:

SENATOR MUNDT: For your solace, Mr. Welch, may I say this . . . Any action that the Senate takes is reversible. If it develops that you can elicit from the friends of Mr. Carr statements with which to indict him . . . then of course we can reverse our position.

Mr. Welch's new companion smiled grimly:

SENATOR MCCLELLAN: I don't want Mr. Welch to get any false hopes that there will be any reversal. This is going to be final and Carr is going to be eliminated. You do not agree with my politics. That is your privilege. But I want to say that I agree with you as to the merits of the case.

Then Symington and Jackson were piling on top of Mundt. "Will you agree to call Frank Carr as a witness?" Symington demanded. "No," replied Mundt weakly, "not unless sworn evidence is submitted against him." "Are not the memoranda enough evidence!" Symington cried. "No," said Senator Mundt in a curious appraisal of their authenticity, they were "newspaper reports." Promptly, Jackson pointed out that in sworn testimony, Secretary Stevens had called Carr's memoranda lies. Mundt blinked but did not budge.

Then Mr. Welch was speaking, one last time. His elbow rested on the witness table, his arm raised and sank with thumb and second finger joined in a delicate circle for emphasis. And slowly it dawned on those present that it was more than Mr. Welch the elegant attorney who was speaking. It was also the lifelong Republican, and when he finished the audience was close to tears.

"I think I can count votes," he remarked, "and I think I observe Mr. Carr disappearing as a principal." He begged that as a witness Carr remain, saying "I can take one stab in the heart a day." But the vote was as good as in. Mr. Welch turned to the one man whose conscience loomed large on the Republican side. "Senator Potter, I couldn't believe, Sir, that you were going to announce your vote as you have."

MR. WELCH: May I say sadly, gentlemen, that it seems strange to me that these Republican lips of mine —Republican for sixty-four years with the single exception of Al Smith whom I admired—that these lips can convince only Democrats, my natural enemies, and that the Republicans whom I love and cherish find my words are dust and ashes.

If more testimony is needed, then those who saw Mr. Welch will later testify that this was no courtroom act. From all the nation telegrams arrived from Republicans denouncing the action other Republicans had taken. McClellan read them in sorrow. To a small group of reporters the following morning he said:

If party advantage were all that mattered, yesterday would be a day for Democrats to rejoice; but the welfare of the country is more important than party and so it was a day of ignominy and shame.

EARLY the next morning Roy Cohn bounced into the witness chair. His testimony was confident and as they listened some reporters suspected that the riddle of Frank Carr was beginning to unravel. The key was the memoranda that Carr supposedly wrote and the principal target of these memoranda was Secretary Stevens. The memoranda attributed to Carr accused Stevens of dictating a course of blackmail and bribery for the Army to follow. Stevens in turn had sworn that these charges were false. Now gentle words were falling about the Secretary, very gentle for Mr. Cohn.

Was it here that the riddle of Frank Carr lay? Other staff members had signed a pledge of loyalty to Roy Cohn. Could it be that Frank Carr under oath would be loyal to the truth? Did the Republicans fear then that with Carr's testimony some new light would shine into the deep recesses of the McCarthy apparatus? If so, was their objective still to preserve that apparatus intact for the future? As the week ended, those who know would not talk, and those who talked could only guess.

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The CBS Central European Correspondent reports on his recent tour of satellite states

IS THE STALINIST ICE AGE THAWING?

by Alexander Kendrick

THE BARBED WIRE strung along the Hungarian frontier has turned rusty. The mine fields, though still dangerous, have deteriorated from lack of maintenance. The border guards, once singled out as the particular heroes of the regime and exhorted to constant vigilance, sit in their watch-tower playing cards.

Those who know about such things say that escape from the Communist-controlled country was never easier or more possible. Yet the actual number of escapes has dwindled to a new low.

It is difficult for would-be "liberators" to swallow the explanation, and our propaganda has been hesitant to admit it, but living conditions have improved considerably behind the Iron Curtain since the Malenkov "new course" was introduced, and the plain fact is that there are fewer reasons now for leaving, and more reasons for staying.

The neglected border is a symbol of the changes, which it should be stated, have not taken place to the same degree in all the satellite states. All have announced the "new course," but Poland, for example, has done very little to bring it into being, while Hungary has done most. Czechoslovakia, Romania and Bulgaria are in between the two extremes.

One of the main causes of the uneven development is the great differences within the ruling group of each country as to the necessity for the current policy of concessions. Some old-line Communist leaders, believers in the iron fist of Stalinism, are not completely reconciled to the Malenkov line that Marxism can be made agreeable. Local party officials and the lower-level bureaucracy is apparently sabotaging the new policy. Party congresses have been announced for this year in all the satellite countries, and there is no doubt that the "new course" will be the chief subject of discussion.

Serious fuel shortages during this hard winter caused extreme physical suffering and dislocated transport and industry in the satellite states. Chronic shortages of many goods still exist. But whatever ideological uncertainties they are experiencing, and however precarious their economies may be, it must be admitted that the satellites are enjoying better times than in many months.

These are the direct reflection of better times in the Soviet Union itself, as the Stalin ice age thaws out a little.

It is hard to analyze the motivation for the changes—whether the concessions are a desperate attempt to rescue the bogged-down satellite economies; whether Moscow has deliberately loosened its control, or in its concentration on internal affairs has less interest in the satellites; or whether the whole thing is simply an experiment in the tensile strength of the peoples' democracies, or for that matter, an experiment in the field of Soviet peace propaganda.

But no matter if the "new course" is virtue, necessity or accident, there can be no mistake about the numerous material, mental and moral changes that have taken place in the satellites, and in Hungary most of all. The Magyar state has always been the showcase of satellite Communism, perhaps because it is non-Slavic, perhaps because it was the most backward in prewar days, perhaps because it can feed itself better; perhaps for all these reasons.

THE MOST important and fundamental change in Budapest has been a return to legality, or a reasonable Communist facsimile thereof, as the basis of the state. The political police, the AVH, have ceased to function as such, and have to a large extent been absorbed in the regular police or in the army.

What the Communists themselves have termed "police justice" has been abolished. Under new decrees, only the courts are permitted to pass sentences, and then only after proper juridical proceedings. Police authority is now limited to traffic cases and public order, and police punishment is limited to fines.

The courts of course continue to be creatures of the Communist state, and it is known what a legal farce Communist trials can be. But the knock on the door at midnight, imprisonment without trial by the police or local political councils, and the broad area of "administrative punishment"—usually consignment to concentration camps without trial—have been done away with.

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Moreover, the office of the state prosecutor has been named "the guardian of legality," and will henceforth spend its time, not in preparing cases against prisoners and arranging for their "confessions," but in acting as supreme arbiter over all judicial actions.

In fact, the public prosecutor has been converted into the public defender. His function is to prevent people from being pushed around by Communist bureaucracy, in every-day matters like housing or work transfers, and to uphold individual rights against the courts when necessary. His office is separate from all other state agencies, and is responsible only to the parliament.

Arrest without warrant or proper grounds, confinement without preliminary hearings, and investigations of more than 30 days are now not permitted, and the accused has been given the right to know the results of the investigation, the details of the indictment, the identity of his accusers and their specific charges, all in advance of the trial so that he can prepare an adequate defense.

So far as is known, all foreigners in Hungarian jails have now been given their freedom, and the Hungarian Government has surprised the International Red Cross by offering to return 1,200 Greek hostages who were seized by Communist-led guerrillas in the Greek civil war and have been held in concentration camps for five years. The Greek Government, suspecting an infiltration plot, has agreed to take back only half of them.

An interesting sidelight on the return to legality was a recent denunciation in the party organ *Szabad Nep* of "informers within the party." This anathemized the "soulless, inhuman 'action on suspicion' that many of our party organizations have utilized in the past" and particularly the endless security questionnaires used in all phases of party life, in which the respondents had to list their suspicions against comrades, on any grounds.

Outside the party, informing on one's friend or neighbor seems to have abated as well, and in a recent court case, which was given fullest publicity, a group of professional informers, who had in fact themselves sent compromising "Fascist literature" to their victims and then turned them in for possessing it, received long prison terms.

"Think twice before you leave the collective, daddy"

PERHAPS the largest number of those released from concentration camps were the "kulaks" or wealthier peasants. Hitherto they have been regarded as public enemies of the first category, but now the directive has gone out that "while they can be isolated politically, they must not be isolated economically." This means that a halt has been called to the civil war in the Hungarian countryside, and whether it is merely a truce or something more permanent, concessions made to the peasants are the very keystone of the "new course."

The concessions include reductions in the quotas of compulsory deliveries to the state, thus giving the peasant a larger surplus to sell on the free market; 15-percent reduction in farm income taxes, and cancellation of 50 percent of all tax arrearages; an increase in the state prices paid for farm products; and a general revision of the compulsory delivery regulations to make them less burdensome.

Even the term "kulak" has lost its original stigma, and the order of the Presidential Council relaxing delivery quotas, did not mention "kulaks" at all but for the first time spoke of "larger farmers." The so-called "kulak lists" have been abolished, and private farmers have been given the same rights as members of collectives.

It is evident that one of the reasons for the amnesty was to get the "kulaks" back to the farm, and in production again on the 25 percent of arable land that last year stood idle.

But the most significant concession made was granting collective farmers the right to leave these enterprises and go back to individual private farming at will. This was announced by Prime Minister Imre Nagy last July 4—ever since called "Independence Day"—and it was recently revealed by Minister of Agriculture Andras Hegedues that the number of collective farmers has since dropped from 500,000 to 264,000—a decrease of 47 percent—while the number of collective farms has been reduced 12 percent, from 5,315 to 4,677. The wide difference in percentages arises because the dissolution decree says that a collective can survive if only 10 members choose to remain. Under these conditions, when the necessary ten can be supplied from functionaries and party officials, it is remarkable that 638 collective farms have been entirely dissolved.

Hungary's Nagy

What is particularly striking about the present situation is the government's insistence that those leaving the collectives be permitted to do so without hindrance or penalty.

Szabad Nep, organ of the party: "All who leave collective farms are to be regarded not as former, but as future members of collective farms." *Szabad Fold,* organ of the "Hungarian working peasantry": "They are not enemies, but allies." So those who quit the collectives are already being wooed to come back. Students are persuaded to write letters to their parents, and many have been published, on the general theme, "Think twice before you leave the collective, daddy."

Although legally, private farmers are no longer to be distinguished from collective farmers, the reduction of delivery quotas and other concessions do give a slight edge to the collective member.

Collectives get such special concessions as cancellation

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of debts, extension of current credits, loans for livestock breeding, and state financing for silos and other improvements. New credits are also provided for collectives which are in financial trouble "through no fault of their own (*e.g.* as a result of damage caused by the weather, *excessive investments, etc.*)."

This farm-aid program constitutes half of the "new course." The other half is the slowing down—or at least, halting the acceleration—of heavy industry, and placing emphasis on light industry making consumers' goods.

Unlike the Soviet Union, where the consumers' goods program has simply been hitched on to the heavy industry program, and unlike Czechoslovakia and Poland, where the proportion of heavy goods production to consumers' goods production has not been changed much yet, Hungarian industry has already undergone definite alteration. Half of all the workers who left the farms for industry at the start of the five-year plan in 1950, have been instructed to go back to agriculture. Half the furnaces in Hungary's new steel industry have been shut down. The Tatabanya and Komlo mines, formerly the chief arenas of "socialist competition" or Stakhanovism, are scarcely mentioned at all these days, except in complaints about the scarcity of coal. Sztalinvaros, the "model town" on the Danube which was the gem of the five-year plan, has lost its top priority.

A typical example of the industrial transformation is provided by the giant Rakosi Iron Works, which has turned from the production of heavy goods to "small machines, harrows, corn-grinders, turnip-slicing machines, refrigerators, radiators, nails and toys." The quotes are from a workers' meeting called to decide what consumers' goods should be made by the big industrial complex.

There's no reason why we shouldn't "lead a merry life"

THE HEAD of the Market Research and Goods Forwarding Management recently wrote publicly that stores must provide better service and that "radio sets have to be installed, bulky articles delivered, mechanical apparatus serviced, alterations to clothing made, goods wrapped properly and not in newspapers, and paper bags provided free."

The first apartment house washing-machine has been installed in Budapest, all public telephone booths are being equipped with light bulbs, and a special shop for dogs has been opened on Hunyadi square. As *Szabad Nep* put it, "there's no reason why it should not be possible to lead a merry life."

To this end, the government has reduced this year's "voluntary" state loan subscription by 50 percent, provided 10-percent wage increases for factory workers and railway and postal employees, granted credits up to 10,000 forints ($900) to small businessmen and craftsmen to buy tools and materials, and permitted the licensing of 87 categories of craftsmen, including blacksmiths, tailors, painters, cobblers and "makers of honey cakes." This "private enterprise" has been granted 8,000 licenses already.

BUDAPEST: Satellite Showcase

Free land is being given to those wishing to build private housing, and newspapers print such ads as the following: "Family Homes Ready to Move In," and "Self-Owned Flats and Lots for Sale."

Hungarian shops already reflect the new policy. One woman wrote to *Szabad Nep*, thankful that "enamel ware goods are at last on sale" and that she could now buy "fur-lined boots which have been imported and good Hungarian worsteds which formerly were reserved for export." Two general price reductions, affecting 10,000 items of consumers' goods, have stimulated retail sales, although complaints have been received by *Szabad Nep* and *Magyar Nemzet* that "we can now get nothing but white bread, and frankly, we prefer brown."

The state grocery shop concern CSEMEGE recently put on sale such previously unobtainable commodities as cinnamon, nutmeg and laurel leaves; and announced the introduction of the cash-direct-to-the-clerk system, instead of the previous system of queueing up three times. CSEMEGE has also undertaken to deliver milk directly to homes "as an experiment," and two shops of the government chain will now deliver orders given by telephone, while a third shop stays open 24 hours daily.

These innovations are unheard of in a retail organization where the customer has always been wrong. But more are to come.

On the social and cultural side, the most notable change of the "new course" has been the restoration to favor, and activity, of espressos and coffee-houses. Almost as important to the civilization of Budapest as of Vienna, these intimate gathering places were driven out of business during the Stalinist period as breeding-grounds of bourgeois conspiracy, intrigue and gossip. Now they are back and well-patronized, and even bona-fide coffee is available, though at extremely high prices.

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Budapest night clubs and dance halls are reported filled to capacity every night.

The state tobacco trust proudly announces that it now makes 27 kinds of "smokes" and that the most noticeable trend is the growing popularity of cigars. A newspaper reader, not satisfied with this, writes in to demand mentholated cigarettes, and another wants filter tips.

The first Hungarian television set has been put on display, though not yet on sale. A baby-sitters school has been started by the Budapest Municipal Council, and students receive board and lodging and $10 a month stipend. The first painless dentist has set up shop in the Hungarian capital, and the Workers Catering Service has begun the home delivery of hot suppers under the slogan, "No cooking to do, no dishes to wash."

The Budapest Municipal Council recently opened a central marriage hall in the former Batthyany palace, decorated with frescoes "depicting the beauty of married life," covered with Persian rugs, and adorned with marble columns. Marriages are performed free of charge, spectators sit in "red armchairs," and according to the official announcement, "after the ceremony, beautiful opera parts are played." During the Christmas holidays, a daily average of 35 weddings was recorded, to the strains of Lohengrin. Christmas, incidentally, is called Christmas once more, Christmas trees are called Christmas trees instead of "winter trees," and the birthday of Stalin no longer takes precedence over the birthday of Christ.

Courtesy, cosmetics, Gershwin in place of daily Russian lessons

FIFTEEN thousand gold wedding rings were put on sale in the state jewelry shops in December, to encourage marriage, and the Communist Youth organization DISZ has opened a campaign for the polite treatment of women, and the return of such courtesies as the opening of doors, the holding of coats, and the yielding of seats in trolley cars and buses. Plain everyday rudeness, explained DISZ, has been passing itself off as "equality."

The pre-Lent carnival season in Budapest this year brought with it a shop which rents out fancy dress costumes. A movie house has been opened showing only films that its patrons ask for, and Hungarian women have been officially told by the trade union organization to use more cosmetics and patronize beauty shops at least once a week, since it "is not un-Marxian to look attractive." Thirty such shops have been opened right in the factories.

In spite of plaintive requests from *Szabad Ifjusag*, the organ of youth, that more polkas and waltzes be heard, jazz is no longer regarded as Western decadence and is being freely played all over the country, not least on Radio Budapest. This powerful station, recently devoted completely to internal and external propaganda, has confounded the monitors of Radio Free Europe by dedicating itself entirely to entertainment and devoting one-third of its time to American jazz. It has given two all-Gershwin concerts and has stopped playing any Russian music later than Tschaikowsky. It has also dropped its daily Russian lesson, and under the head of entertainment has broadcast recorded meetings of village councils at which peasants have openly attacked party leaders for incompetence.

Such criticism is having a field day in Hungary. It runs through every phase of daily life, and the frustrations of years of red tape and bureaucracy are being worked off with explosive sound effects. Factory directors are criticized for not supplying overalls to workers. State stores are criticized for their bonus payments to sales clerks, thereby forcing the sale of "unbecoming and inferior" articles because higher bonuses are attached. Women's shops are criticized for instituting "Stocking Day," "Lingerie Week" and other "ridiculous forms of advertising." The state wood-products factory is criticized for putting out a brand of toothpick named "Peace."

"This is as bad as naming an axle grease after Beethoven or a wash cloth after Aristotle," writes an indignant tooth-picker.

Besides its obviously happy publication of such criticism, the official press has taken on a new look in its publication of crime news, accounts of street accidents, fires and other ordinary occurrences which are daily grist to Western newspapers but have never been regarded as fit to print under Communism. In the matter of crime, instead of limiting themselves to offenses against state property, Hungarian newspapers now print stories of robberies, thefts, muggings, murders and other crimes involving individuals. Needless to say, they have acquired a larger reading public than ever before.

The separation of party and government, at least to outward appearances, has been made part of the "new course," and the Rakosi cult, which had rivalled the Stalin cult in obsequiousness and ubiquity, has definitely been put by the boards.

Children are no longer told that they must grow up to be like "Uncle Rakosi," and the party boss himself, no longer Prime Minister, does not travel in an armed motorcade any more, but in a single unescorted limousine.

The orthodoxy of the moment was the heresy of one year ago

WHAT is happening in Hungary is frankly likened to Lenin's New Economic Policy of 1921, and in his latest speech to the party leadership Rakosi declared that the NEP was not only "correct and necessary" but "universally valid for all countries building social-

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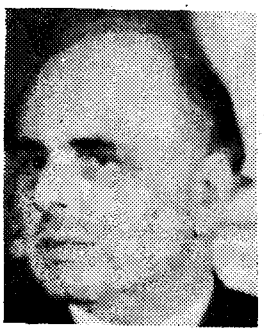
ism . . . at present." The party chieftain recalled that Lenin's NEP had found some opposition in the Bolshevik hierarchy, and confessed that similar opposition to the "new course" now exists in Hungary, but he said it would continue despite these top-level differences of opinion because "it is not a halt, and even less a retreat or deviation from the path of socialism, but the only practicable way of building socialism at present." He did not mention Lenin's description of NEP as a "retreat."

The lengthy explanations and historical accounts of NEP appearing in the Hungarian party press are sheer Bukharinism, and would have been classified as treason a year ago. They minimize the importance of the industrial proletariat, glorify the peasant and instruct him as Bukharin did to "get rich," and they deny that any danger of the revival of capitalism lurks in the new program.

Since the Bukharin trial is still remembered by veteran Communists, and since some of their most prominent colleagues such as Ana Pauker have fallen from grace for such alleged tendencies, Communist officials in other satellite states have not been so eager as Rakosi to go all out on the "new course," and while they have paid lip service to it, have taken very little action to implement it.

Poland has been the most recalcitrant, and it is significant that at the recent Ninth Party Plenum Jakob Berman, the party ideologist, spoke of the need for an "insurance policy." This means the Polish leaders fear that the "new course" may before long be reversed by Moscow, and they are not anxious to commit themselves to it unreservedly. It should also be mentioned that Poland is the least collectivized of the satellites agriculturally, and her industrial development program is regarded as the most important among the satellites, so the "new course" obviously means less there.



Polish ideologist Berman

At any rate, the Polish Communists have announced that they will continue their industrialization and the six-year plan, and that there will be no changes in the compulsory delivery system, either by reducing quotas or raising prices. Three recent trials were held involving the failure of agricultural deliveries and charges of "kulak mentality."

The Poles seem to have tightened up internally, instead of relaxing, and although a good deal of "criticism and self-criticism" is permitted, they have recently done such senseless things as to fix prohibitive duty on food parcels and other gifts coming from abroad.

The Czech Communist leaders are following a middle route between Hungary's all-out NEP and Poland's hypothetical NEP. As long ago as last August, President Antonin Zapotocky said "who wants to leave the collectives may go," and some peasants have duly drifted away, but nothing has been done officially to formalize such departures.

Hungarian Premier Nagy's speech of January 23 giving the results of six months of the "new course" was heavily censored in Czechoslovakia, and all mention was omitted of the Hungarian amnesty, the closing of concentration camps, the return of the deportees, and the reversion to legality.

Forced labor and "re-education" camps still function in Czechoslovakia, and there continues to be trials of "diversionist groups" and "espionage agents." Some foreigners are also still in Czech custody, although John Hvasta was recently "freed" after he had already freed himself.

The "new course" recognizes the failure of the collectives

THE CZECH Government has announced a mere five-percent increase in consumers' goods for 1954, and this is partly because Prague's severe anti-inflationary measures of last summer, including currency reform and the confiscation of savings, has brought about curtailed purchasing power.

Although not so much emphasis has been placed on consumers' goods in Czechoslovakia as in Hungary or the Soviet Union, prices have been raised for compulsory farm deliveries and delivery quotas cut, and a policy has been announced of "giving the kulaks economic help but keeping them in political isolation." Also the Ministry of Internal Trade has decided to reopen 100 restaurants, hotels, taverns, coffee-houses and bars which have been converted into government offices and clubs.

The most important reforms in Romania include a large-scale program of government loans and credits for building private housing, and a 30-percent reduction in income taxes. Bulgaria has opened the doors to "private enterprise" with a program of "support and assistance" for small business, retail trade, craftsmen and others who can meet the "urgent need of the population for mass-consumption goods." Even Albania has welcomed back the "kulak."

How long the "new course" will last, whether it will be broadened, merely tolerated, or abandoned, cannot be predicted. It is doubtful whether the Communist leaders know themselves yet. Even Lenin's NEP is no precedent, for it was a temporary retreat from wartime Communism and was itself ended by Stalin's collectivization program. The "new course," on the other hand, recognizes the failure of collectivization in the satellites.

If it is "the only practicable way of building socialism at present," as Rakosi says in Hungary, it may be part of the Communist landscape for a long time to come.

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GERALD W. JOHNSON

★

The Superficial Aspect

THE MYTH of the Abominable Snowman supposed to inhabit the extreme altitudes of government in Washington is fading, as such myths always fade after a year and a half of a new Administration. Eighteen months ago political Alpinists were full of wild tales of tracks 28 inches long left by a creature nobody would venture to name definitely, but whose initials were supposed to be HST and whose habits were unspeakable. But now that the climbers have scaled the summit of political power, interest in this shaggy hypothetical denizen of the *neve* has subsided. It's cold up there, too cold and too slippery to encourage a hue and cry after *Pithecanthropus*.

So HST has shrunk almost to the dimensions of an ordinary mortal wearing shoes and eating with a knife and fork. It is probable that he would be quite down to common size except for one of his ways of amusing himself. From time to time, even as the Consul Nero cast the head of Hasdrubal into the camp of Hannibal, HST hurls a dead cat into the midst of the Administration, making it necessary to revive the legends of his fearsomeness.

ONE OF the most interesting of these is the story that he has set up as the Bashaw, not to say the Sultan, of the Democratic Party, and the candidate to whom he throws the kerchief will be the acknowledged Favorite of 1956. It is improbable, but its superficial aspect suggests that this tale may contain a modicum of truth. There is not much doubt that in the case of HST distance lends enchantment to the view, and by 1956 at a distance of four years he may take on very seductive hues indeed.

Already it is apparent that he did a remarkable job in containing Communism from 1945 to 1953. We had no idea how remarkable it was until someone else tried it and Communism promptly began to leak out all over Asia. Somewhat more slowly we are realizing that it took pretty smart work to hold together the coalition of democracies. After awhile we shall understand that this unimpressive citizen of Missouri had to make a larger number of momentous decisions than President Washington had to make.

Oh yes, he did wallop a music critic, and he did call a commentator an s.o.b., and he did have a distressing affection for clowns, and he did refuse to regard any man as a Communist until it was proved that he was a Communist, which rarely happened. But all that is beginning to seem not much more important than Theodore Roosevelt's Ananias Club, and reformed spelling, and removal of "In God We Trust" from the coins; while the atom bomb, the Truman Doctrine, the Marshall Plan, Korea and NATO increase in stature with passing time, and Point Four begins to seem colossal.

HST is plainly assembling what it takes to constitute an Elder Statesman. Like Madison and Jackson his size was not accurately measured while he remained in the White House because, as with them, the *decor* of the little palace never harmonized with his complexion. The Israelites lusted after the flesh-pots of Egypt no more ardently than Americans lust after a President who looks the part, and we cannot be reformed even by getting one. Within the memory of living men we have had two, William McKinley and Warren G. Harding, and our experience with them should have subdued the fiercest libido, but it has not done so. Because HST looked out of place on Pennsylvania Avenue we assumed that he was out of place, and if facts point the other way, so much the worse for the facts.

In the environment of a small Missouri town, however, he begins to look a bit like Andrew Jackson in the Hermitage. As his successors become more and more entangled in messes of various kinds it is likely that he will seem less and less like a monster of fearful mien and more and more like a workman who had an appallingly difficult job and got away with it in highly competent fashion. The myth of the Abominable Snowman has already faded. The myth of the well-meaning but bungling fathead is fading. The conception of HST as a smart cookie is already seeping into public opinion.

SO IF I were a candidate for the Democratic nomination, while I would not rely on snatching the kerchief, I would walk as delicately as Agag in the neighborhood of Independence. For times change, and being polite to HST is no longer suicidal in an aspiring politician.

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BOOKS & COMMENT

The Dignity of Lyricism

by Peter Viereck

II

In 1912 and 1913, impressario'd by the Imagists and the early Pound, free verse seemed the last word in progress. It seemed so again in the leftist thirties, when social conscience gave it that added defiant *panache* which it had lacked in the relatively ivory-tower days of Amy Lowell. But among American poets, with the honorable exception of the marvelous, majestic rhythms of Whitman and Sandberg, free verse is dead and forgotten. The reason for its death is clear and unanswerable; you cannot (to use a metaphor of Frost's) play tennis without a net. The net of strict form, the more traditional the better, is the challenge which best evokes, provokes, irritates forth the response of beauty.

Up to this point, I agree with the tendency known as formalism, a tendency often but not always overlapping with the New Criticism. However, their ignoring of content—by which I mean the importance of content and also the importance of communicating it—is just as one-sided as those earlier poets who over-estimated content and who sloppily ignored the need for form. Moreover, a merely technical form is not enough. It is necessary to have form in the broader meaning of being sensitive to the psychological and ethical pattern of the human soul; and this broader meaning of form is inseparable from content. Virtuosity is not the same as virtue. While New Critic formalists have rightly returned to the technical framework of form in art, they have sometimes excluded the ethical framework as allegedly separate from art.

For the sake of free speech about sacred cows and not necessarily to agree with the Orwell piece in question, readers who share my admiration for the exciting integrity of George Orwell will want to hear his opinion on the 1949 Bollingen Award to the brilliant Ezra Pound. This is one of the last public statements made by Orwell before his tragically premature death:

> Some time ago I saw it stated in an American periodical that Pound only broadcast on the Rome radio when "the balance of his mind was upset." . . . This is plain falsehood. Pound was an ardent follower of Mussolini as far back as the 1920's and never concealed it. He was a contributor to Mosley's review, the *British Union Quarterly*. . . . His broadcasts were disgusting. I remember at least one in which he approved the massacre of the East European Jews and "warned" the American Jews that their turn was coming presently. . . . He *may* be a good writer (I must admit that I personally have always regarded him as an entirely spurious writer), but the opinions he has tried to disseminate *in* his works are evil . . . (*Partisan Review*, May 1949.)

Obviously I would never dream of judging poetry politically or "journalistically." However, out of instinctive sense of outrage over the blunting of America's anti-fascist conscience by McCarthyism, I cannot restrain myself from asking the following admittedly rhetorical question: what would have been the national and Congressional reaction if such an award (at that time still sponsored by the official Library of Congress) had gone not to an approver of Nazi massacres but to some American Communist traitor giving comparable broadcasts from Moscow and gloating during the Korean War about the burning alive of American soldiers by their Red torturers? Are not the fellow-traveler pseudo-liberals and lumpen-intellectuals of the 1940's and their mirror-image twins, the McCarthyites and pseudo-conservative drugstore-Machiavellis of the 1950's, just about equally immoral in having unilateral indignation only about fascist atrocities or only about Red atrocities? (Naturally, as Orwell was among the first to warn us and as both liberals and conservatives can now agree, the totalitarian twins are identical morally, even if sometimes different in ideological lip-service.)

To return to the overlapping of ethical framework and aesthetic framework in the reader's response to poetry: in practice (though not in theory) both responses, both frameworks, both senses of form coalesce into the inseparable unity that psychologists call a *Gestalt*. The one framework has to accompany the other; the great conservative rebellion against the formless, radical, materialist thirties will not be complete if it has nothing more profound to conserve than—the rhyme scheme of *terza rima*. What a mockery! As if Dante's *terza rima* pattern were something in a vacuum!—instead of the mere shadow thrown by a vaster spiritual pattern for man.

The cult known as formalism today is a narrowly technical and unimaginatively literal application to verse of the conservative truth that liberty, beauty, all creativity are built on reverence for the formal patterns of our traditional spiritual heritage. Form, yes. Formalism, no.

Let us picture to ourselves these ideal "pure" poets of formalism, as they glide aloof and alien through this vulgar universe. Picturing them, I am obsessively reminded of the following scientific description (cited by another poet in another context) of a harmless parasitic insect, called "podurans":

> Podurans . . . these tiny active sprites live as indifferently tolerated ant-guests, flitting about the nest apparently undetected by their hosts and picking up debris or stray bits of food. . . . These guests are harmless enough to their social benefactors and are but little modified to live among them save as they are apparently gifted with a neutral odor and with sprightly ways whereby they slip unobserved through the densest throngs.

Certainly I must admire (knowing that verse butters no parsnips) the charming ability of this sprightly parasite to pick up "stray bits of food"; being born in New York, I further admire their "slipping unobserved through the densest throngs." But is a "neutral odor" the highest role of the poet when

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the issue is not some ephemeral party-squabble but is the recording of good and evil? On this score, Dante and Milton—and it seems we are again permitted to mention Milton—don't smell neutral to us. Here is the real issue which divided Parnassus into two camps during the most important single literary controversy of the decade. Namely, the controversy over whether Ezra Pound's *Pisan Cantos* are (as a leading Poundian said recently) one of "the greatest masterpieces" of modern man, or whether they are excluded from such greatness not only stylistically but on grounds of moral insensitivity (for example, to Belsen crematories). On this issue of whether or not aesthetics overlaps with moral sensitivity (and the issue is older, broader than any Pound controversy), I agree with Prof. Douglas Bush of Harvard:

> . . . The poets have perhaps been not entirely blameless, and we must hope for fuller rapprochement between the poet and the common reader for the sake of both poetry and society. And while our civilization is predominately scientific . . . poetry can break through the tyranny of the positivist intellect and claim to be the breath and finer spirit of all knowledge. Now as always, a central criterion of the major poet is his recognition of the unceasing conflict between good and evil.

Pure technical virtuosity, a totally unmoral *l'art-pour-l'art* formalism, is preferable—why, of course it is—to a soapbox poetry which prostitutes art to political propaganda, because at least unmoral virtuosity respects the dignity of its medium, the dignity of lyricism, which is more than Agitprop does. But here, as so often in life, we are not confined to a false either-or but have a third alternative. The third alternative is not propaganda, not didacticism, not moral preachiness but moral insight. This insight is as much a part of the human condition, neither more nor less, as love and beauty and human fallibility; it can no more be omitted in a poetry of the whole, three-dimensional human being than can love and beauty and fallibility.

Here are three beliefs I have learnt from my betters by steeping myself in the hundreds of poetry books of this last decade, in the poetry of some of the great older poets and, more important for the future, in the marvelously rich and exciting poetry of the many younger unrecognized poets:

(1) I believe that aesthetics partly overlaps with ethics;

(2) I believe that greatness is more often found inside this area of overlapping than outside it;

(3) and consequently I believe that beauty is not life-indifferent but life-enhancing; — you will capture pure beauty only by seeking more than pure beauty.

But if the students and new poets of the 1950's, whom I meet on the campuses during my poetry readings and travels, are reacting against the dry formalism of the 1940's and are returning to communication and content, including ethical content, yet almost none of them would dream of returning to the equally dry exaggeration of content and "message," which was popular in the proletarian verse of the 1930's. Thank God that Eliot and the Southern School formalists at least rid us of that incubus! For the neglect of form and of lyricism, in the name of what the thirties called "social responsibility," was even deadlier to poetry than the neglect of communication and content in the polished, dead glass-flowers of the formalists. Being "responsible" in verse must surely include being responsible to the integrity and high standards of one's craft; no good cause can justify the bad verse written for it.

The coming return to communication between poets and readers will communicate, among other things, an ethical content. But not by means of explicit sermonizing; rimed editorials are deadly to lyricism, whether they be Marxist or conservative or religious. And lyricism is the one great role we have left in poetry today, now that the inroads of science and of prose have deprived the poet of his earlier, non-lyrical roles of law-giver, philosopher, prophet, seer. And this depriving is *just as well*. Lyricism is enough; one metaphor, one lyrical gesture of the joy and pity of the human heart, can still give us implicitly more moral insight—not didacticism but insight—than "all the sages can." For that matter it gives a more human insight than any "impulse from the vernal wood." And certainly more than the statistics of positivist science.

Statistics and test tubes in their place, yes; and editorials and ideologies in their place, yes; but it is not they who will move the sun and the other stars, *il sole e l'altre stelle.*" For as a profaner poet than Dante said, "all is lacking if love is lacking."

We see from the lyrics of the best younger poets emerging from the campuses of the 1950's, that lyricism and love — the two are synonymous — that lyricism and love are the only flame that fuses form and content, aesthetics and ethics, without sacrificing either. When young Mozart was a very young child, an older friend, Gottfried von Jacquin, wrote these words in Mozart's album to guide his great art:

"True genius without heart cannot exist—for neither high intelligence, nor imagination, nor both together make genius. Love! love! love! that is the soul of genius."

The first section of Mr. Viereck's two-part essay appeared in NR, *May 31.*
THE EDITORS

A Narrow-gauge Dickens

JOHN STEINBECK's latest novel, *Sweet Thursday,* is both a sequel to *Cannery Row* and an implicit comment on Steinbeck's career—a career which has been one of the most baffling in recent literary history. He has appeared to be a naturalist of the Biological Determination persuasion and a celebrator of the simple joys of life; the author of effective social propaganda and of mystically symbolic and wryly comic parables. Certainly a fair portion of those who read him as a social critic in the 1930's are not among the still large numbers who read him as a writer of picaresque comedy or of romantic parables.

Sweet Thursday, by John Steinbeck (Viking; $3.50).

Among the fifteen volumes of his prose fiction that preceded *Sweet Thursday,* Steinbeck has produced an impressive strike novel (*In Dubious Battle*), a powerfully effective propaganda novel (*The Grapes of Wrath*), three stylized experiments with plays in novel form (*Of Mice and Men, The Moon Is Down,* and *Burning Bright*), a volume of dis-

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tinguished short stories (*The Long Valley*), an "epic" prose poem of too great length (*East of Eden*), and a group of picaresque, comic novels on the delights of poverty and lawlessness (*The Pastures of Heaven, Tortilla Flat, Cannery Row,* and *The Wayward Bus*).

The ideas which help to shape these books are as diverse as the books themselves. They include a pervasive and informed interest in marine biology, a kind of late transcendental mysticism, a Rousseauistic belief in the innate goodness of man and the inherent evil of social systems, a faith in social progress through better social structures, and an anti-intellectualism so intense that it is most likely to find truth in the mouths of half-wits and the demented.

These ideas, together with remnants of Steinbeck's earlier interests are discernible in *Sweet Thursday,* together with an added concern about writing and an attack on current standards of criticism. The novel is the account of the return of Doc, the marine biologist, to Cannery Row in Monterey after the war, his attempt to stifle his loneliness through scientific experiment and the writing of an article, and the way that Mack and the boys from the Palace Flophouse and the girls from the Beer Flag brothel, through the inspired instrumentality of the half-wit Hazel, bring together Doc and Suzy, a hustler from the Bear Flag. This plot is certainly older than the soil on which it is laid; the basic tone of the novel is the charmingly picaresque folksiness for which *Cannery Row* has prepared us, and the optimism about man's basic nature is consistently that which Doc expresses when he tells an insane but suggestively Christ-like "seer," "I'm surprised they don't lock you up—a reasonable man. It's one of the symptoms of our time to find danger in men like you who don't worry and rush about. Particularly dangerous are men who don't think the world's coming to an end."

These elements entitle us to dismiss *Sweet Thursday* as a minor episode in an erratic career. But the biologist Doc often seems suggestive of his author in his interests, his dilemma, and his statements about life; and the comments on writing are too consistent to be casual; while the tone of half-disparaging banter often seems directed against the author himself. These qualities encourage us to look at the book as one in which Steinbeck has taken a trial balance on his career—implicity if not explicitly.

Steinbeck apparently cares little for much of our contemporary fiction, and he criticizes it for a quality he was once thought to have—that of blood, darkness, and symbolic evil. Joe Elegant, the cook at Bear Flag, is writing a modern symbolic novel, *The Pi Root of Oedipus,* filled with myth, Freudian symbols, and a grandmother who "stands for guilt . . . the reality below the reality."

Doc is tormented by the question: "What has my life meant so far, and what can it mean in the time left to me?" He is haunted by a sense of debt: "Men seem to be born with a debt they can never pay no matter how hard they try. It piles up ahead of them. Man owes something to man." He declares this to be his objective, a goal which his creator seems to share: "I want to take everything I've seen and thought and learned and reduce them and relate them and refine them until I have something of meaning, something of use." His attempt to do this through scientific writing appears doomed to failure, but the efforts of his friends force him into realizing it through action and human relationship. Yet the answer, when he finally arrives at it, seems to be:

> "What did Bach have that I am hungry for to the point of starvation? Wasn't it gallantry? And isn't gallantry the great art of the soul? Is there any more noble quality in the human than gallantry? . . . Everyone has something. And what has Suzy got? Absolutely nothing in the world but guts. She's taken on an atomic world with a slingshot, and, by God, she's going to win! If she doesn't win there's no point in living any more."

Set briefly against Cannery Row is Prairie Grove, a typical bourgeois community, against which Steinbeck levels two chapters of obvious satire which tend to spoil the tone of the book at the same time that they point up with unconscious irony the extent to which Steinbeck's characters develop bourgeois patterns for their own lives. The whores from the Bear Flag cherish and cultivate the middle class virtues however much they may depart from middle class ideas of morality. Mack and the boys from the Palace Flophouse, in their sense of social structure and social obligation, seem to differ from the unhappy people of Prairie Grove most in that they are warm, loving, and happy; so that these social and economic grotesques serve finally not to condemn the total social structure (as one feels that they were intended to do) but to criticize its failures through the examples they yield of success.

This book, however thin and unconvincing its central situation is, does make an emphatic and clear-cut statement of Steinbeck's greatest single theme: the common bonds of humanity and love which make goodness and happiness possible. The Christ-like seer declares, "There are some things a man can't do alone. I wouldn't think of trying anything so big . . . without love."

W. H. Frohock has pointed out that Steinbeck's characters are all essentially the same good, improvident, and gentle folk, and that they are happy, as in *Cannery Row,* or miserable, as in *The Grapes of Wrath,* depending upon the

?

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degree of external pressure exerted upon them. The point is valid. Steinbeck seems to see man as basically noble, with a gentle goodness like that pictured in *Sweet Thursday*. Without the pressure of social indigation he writes of such men in idyls of pastoral happiness. He can, too, portray with fury the distortions of this goodness and the piteous suffering which society can inflict. But he shares with Charles Dickens the failure to subject his people under either situation to an organized and logically consistent philosophy. Louis Cazamian has called Dickens' solution *"une forme vague et sentimentale du socialisme chrétien,"* which was rooted in human love and sympathy on the individual level. Steinbeck's solution may well be called *"socialisme chrétien"* too.

The comparison with Dickens is more than casual. Steinbeck is a modern Dickens, limited in range and theme, a narrow-gauge Dickens, but properly in the tradition of sentimental social criticism of which Dickens is the greatest master. The parallels between the men are interesting. Both are notoriously tender-spirited, sensitive to suffering, easily moved to pity, forgiving of weakness and failure, the fascinated and marvelously successful portrayers of children and child-like states of mind. Both have made sympathetic use of the wisdom of the demented. Hazel in *Sweet Thursday* with his fear of having to be President has striking parallels to Mr. Dick and his King Charles' head. Both writers are keenly sensitive to social and economic injustice, without maintaining any really consistent framework within which to judge it. The failure to recognize or to follow the party-line in Steinbeck's strike novel, *In Dubious Battle,* a failure he justified by saying of men such as his characters, "They don't believe in ideologies . . . They do what they can under the circumstances," is comparable to the "plague on all your systems" attitude in Dickens' fictional social tract, *The Chimes.*

Steinbeck shares with Dickens, too, a tendency to picture eccentrics and grotesques, a fascination with the abnormal in people, and a delight in folk speech. *Sweet Thursday* consists almost exclusively of grotesques: Fauna, who left a Mission to become madam of the Bear Flag (her real name was Flora); Joseph and Mary Rivas, a Mexican in the rogue tradition; Mack, who recites snatches from Shakespeare, Tennyson, and the Bible; the "seer," who can't resist candy bars; Hazel, the half-wit who worries because his horoscope says he will be President. Every one of them moves with Dickensian extravagance; everyone is presented with Dickensian verve; not one, I hazard a guess, would Dickens have scorned.

Dickens' two most effective novels for contemporary readers are probably *Bleak House,* with its passionate indictment of social injustice through the imbittered examination of one institution, and *David Copperfield,* wherein goodness and warmth and humanity, particularly among the lowly and the simple, are celebrated. And always the imperishable but unreal glow of transcendant goodness gleams through Dickens' Christmas books. Steinbeck's *The Grapes of Wrath* is comparable to *Bleak House* both in its indictment of society and in its lack of a solution. *Tortilla Flat* and *The Long Valley* echo the nostalgic charm of *David Copperfield.* It is probably coincidence that both men were fascinated by the drama in their middle years, but I believe it is no coincidence that *Cannery Row* and *Sweet Thursday* belong in the same world of bright dreams that Dickens' Christmas books belong in: they are beautiful to contemplate, they are inspiriting, but they are not dependable indices to any actuality we may ever meet.

I think we have been wrong about Steinbeck. We have let his social indignation, his verisimilitude of language, his interest in marine biology lead us to judge him as a naturalist. Judged by the standards of logical consistency which naturalism demands, his best books are weak and his poorer books are hopeless. Steinbeck is more nearly a twentieth century Dickens of California, a social critic with more sentiment than science or system, warm, human, inconsistent, occasionally angry but more often delighted with the joys that life on its lowest levels presents. I think *Sweet Thursday* implicitly asks its readers to take its author on such terms. If these terms are less than we thought we had reason to hope for from *The Grapes of Wrath,* they are still worthy of respect.

HUGH HOLMAN

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Animal Kingdom

IT IS ALWAYS dangerous to attribute national characteristics to the work of individual writers, but this seems to me a thoroughly French book. Bourlière knows an enormous amount of zoology and allied sciences, yet he never lets his material get the better of him. Sufficiently detailed for the expert, it is also lively and interesting enough for the general reader. I can't speak of the style of the French original, but this translation (by H. M. Parshley) is done in simple, vivid English superior to that of most books of this genre. (The foregoing sentence is presumably not quite correct, since the publishers assure us that this "is the first book in any language to provide a comprehensive picture of what naturalists working in both the field and the laboratory have so far been able to learn about the life and customs of mammals the world over.")

The Natural History of Mammals, by François Bourlière (Knopf; $5).

In separate chapters, Bourlière discusses such subjects as food, defense, sexual life, migration and social life. He reports on the natural cycles in the abundance of certain animals (studied by Elton and others) and accepts the theory, with which not all will agree, that the increase in the number of predators is determined by the increase in the number of their prey. (There seems no reason why the same factors, whatever they are, should not influence both groups simultaneously.)

The book is handsomely illustrated, with both photographs and drawings.

BRUCE BLIVEN

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FILMS

LAST JANUARY the RKO production of *The French Line* (with Jane Russell, Jane Russell and Jane Russell) made its debut in St. Louis without the seal of approval from the Motion Picture Production Code of the film industry, and following this strategem by RKO's *only* mogul, Howard Hughes, the furore commenced.

The Protestant and Catholic Press—Hollywood itself—fumed at this "gross violation of common decency." Mr. Hughes was not up against a particular dogma this time; he had violated the industry's own self-imposed code, releasing a picture without any qualms concerning the Breen Office report. He was accused of usurping authority (which he had), of poisoning the mind of youth (which he probably did), of injuring Hollywood's name (which he undoubtedly did not do).

And what did spokesmen for the gaunt industrialist have to say? Nothing. Mr. Hughes learned long ago that silence was golden. You'll recall *The Outlaw* of a decade or so ago and the storms it provoked. At that time Mr. Hughes—new in Hollywood—capitulated and withdrew the film from circulation, only later to release it with the more "objectionable" parts deleted. Still, it made money.

The French Line was released at an appropriate moment. Samuel Goldwyn had said he thought the Code could stand some revisions. His statement was subsequently lost in the maelstrom over Hughes and the reaction to the latest Supreme Court decision on film censorship.

The Los Angeles press, shortly after the appearance of the Jane Russell film locally, carried a statement by all major studios (except RKO) endorsing the Code as it currently stands. Meanwhile RKO was assessed a $25,000 fine by "the Industry" and Hughes quietly withdrew the picture for necessary "editing."

The censors were by this time in a heated state. The decision of the Supreme Court, calling the Ohio and New York censorship boards too vague in their definitions of what constituted obscenity and immorality, did nothing to calm them.

Officially, the High Court reversed the decisions of the Appellate courts in New York and Ohio which banned the foreign films *La Ronde* and *M* citing "Joseph Burstyn, Inc. *vs* Wilson, 343 U.S. 495, 502." The opinion, on the decision cited, states in part: "Motion Pictures are within the free speech and free press guaranty of the first and fourteenth amendment."

Justices Douglas and Black concurred but considered the case worthy of an individual opinion, contending that:

> The first and fourteenth amendments say the Congress and the State shall make "no law" which abridges freedom of speech or of the press. In order to sanction a system of censorship I (Douglas speaking, Black agreeing) would have to say that "no law" does not mean what it says, that "no law" is qualified to mean "some" laws. I cannot take that step.
>
> In this nation every writer, actor, or producer, no matter what medium of expression he may use, should be freed from the censor.

The French Line appeared again on February 24, again without the Code seal of approval.

Los Angeles Catholic leader Cardinal McIntyre issued a letter denouncing the film and reminding Catholics of the Legion of Decency Pledge they take annually. Civic groups, PTA officers and pastors of Protestant denominations joined in calling the film an affront to public morality.

The welter of opposition and indignation evolved into priceless publicity, highlighted by Winchell's showing of a small inoffensive portion of "The Trouble is a Man" number from the movie on his TV show, cutting it abruptly with the admonition: "A little too sophisticated for our show, Janie."

At the Hawaii theatre on Hollywood Boulevard the film ran nine weeks, breaking by one week the house record held by *The Outlaw*. Price of admission: $1.40.

Mr. Hughes, who has jestingly been referred to as "the owner of RKO, TWA, and USA," remained, as expected, quiet throughout. The box office was his reply.

The French Line, incidentally, is pure Hollywood and a little more—diluted pornography. One wonders what RKO "edited."

In addition to Miss Russell, the film features Mary McCarty and Gilbert Roland. In lieu of a story we have the star cast as a Texas millionairess. Mr. Roland plays the romantic lead.

But the climax of the evening—the reason you paid your buck forty—comes midway in the picture. Scantily attired, J. R. comes at you in scintillating 3D—contorting her rather disproportionate torso in every conceivable manner—at the same time making musical noises with a Texas drawl.

There is no talent displayed—save the natural; and so with the power of suggestion deprived of its value, there is not much to whet the sensible, lascivious appetite. It is a colossal example of bad taste.

Unlike the Stanley Kramer Company, it cannot be said that the Hughes entourage needs lessons in successful salesmanship. No publicity campaign could have been designed more perfectly. Wherever the film has appeared, it has been a box office success, although its distributors are having difficulty in getting circuit bookings.

The deft artistry of the Kramer Company was most clearly presented in *Cyrano de Bergerac* which, to this day, is still over $100,000 in the red. And this despite José Ferrer receiving the highly coveted Academy Award for his portrayal of Cyrano. From this the censors might be expected to understand that if nothing better, they might publicize quality productions with as much energy as they expend on denunciations of Miss R's wiggles.

The Hughes Technique is simple and direct. And successful.

The law cannot solve the problem. Only the "long pull" leads toward taste. A gradual raising in standards, possible only without the hysterical pronouncements of a negative opposition, might place the skids under the Hughes Technique. But Howard need not worry. That kind of progress will not materialize in his lifetime.

WILLIAM L. DRISKILL

Notes on the Critics

PETER VIERECK, who teaches at Mt. Holyoke College, is a Pulitzer prize-winning poet. His most recent collection of lyrical poems is *The First Morning*. HUGH HOLMAN is on the English faculty of the University of North Carolina. WILLIAM L. DRISKILL is a Hollywood journalist.

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CORRESPONDENCE

► A Catholic View of McCarthy

As a Catholic and as an historian I have long been concerned about the way in which Senator Joseph McCarthy has revived the tensions between Protestants and Catholics. The Reverend Dr. Robert J. McCracken recently told his congregation that the days of the inquisition had arrived with McCarthy as "undisputed high priest" and reminded them that the Senator "is a member of a church that has never disavowed the inquisition, that makes a policy of censorship, and that insists upon conformity."

The belief among Protestants that the Catholic Church supports McCarthy all the way stems from a failure of Catholics, both clergy and lay, to speak out against him. (In this connection it should be pointed out that critics who condemn the Catholic Church for "mixing in politics" also indict it when it remains silent on an issue such as McCarthyism.) The two leading Catholic weeklies, *Commonweal* and *America,* have long denounced him; but few priests have joined Father George B. Ford, pastor of the Church of Corpus Christi in New York, in characterizing McCarthy as a "vicious demagogue." Except for Bishop Shiel of Chicago, no member of the hierarchy has ever called McCarthy's methods "un-American," "a throwback to the Star Chamber," and "a neo-Fascist pattern."

Those who seek to exploit Protestant-Catholic friction emphasize the paucity of Catholic criticism of McCarthy and call attention to such statements as that of Father Ginder in *Our Sunday Visitor* (June 28, 1953) who wrote, "I think McCarthy has done and is doing a grand job. I can see nothing wrong with his methods." Father Ginder pointed out that *Our Sunday Visitor*, the *Brooklyn Tablet,* and the *Baltimore Catholic Review,* all official diocesan papers, were pro-McCarthy. Not content with this, Father Ginder asserted that Father James Gillis, well-known writer, had been "in McCarthy's corner from the start," and that Father Gillis had been the recipient of "the highest degree of honor . . . from Rome in recognition of his brains and his long record of faithful service to the truth." Extremists also call attention to Cardinal Spellman's recent remarks in Brussels that Europe had become unduly alarmed over "McCarthyism," and they point to the fact that European Catholics have frequently referred to the Cardinal and the Senator as "Spellman and his friend McCarthy."

Why have Catholics so largely refrained from attacking McCarthy? Is it because they do endorse him in large numbers? Such an explanation has little foundation, despite the Gallup Poll. Many anti-McCarthy Catholics exist, but certain restraints keep them silent. One inhibition results from the Protestant suspicions that Catholics have too much loyalty to the Vatican and too little Americanism. Thus Catholics have always been anxious to "be accepted." Their anxiety has led them to become super patriots; something which is or which appears to be American has their approval almost without question. McCarthy's supporters hold that the Senator represents the finest tradition of Americanism and that to criticize him is to attack Americanism itself, and this entirely fallacious argument has made a great impression.

But Catholics are reluctant to criticize McCarthy for another reason. As the *Commonweal* put it, "An anti-McCarthy Catholic to such people [Catholic admirers of McCarthy] is a clear contradiction in terms. The Church is anti-Communist; Senator McCarthy is anti-Communist; therefore, anyone who is anti-McCarthy is pro-Communist and anti-Catholic." On the basis of this argument, a Catholic who opposed McCarthy on any issue, such as price supports for butter, would automatically become pro-Communist and anti-Catholic. In spite of the absurdity of this argument it has served as an effective check-rein upon Catholic outbursts against McCarthy.

Thoughtful and responsible Catholics should re-examine their consciences. The time is long overdue for those who oppose McCarthy to speak out. If they do not, they run the risk of producing a climate favorable to an anti-Catholic crusade.

But Catholics also should condemn McCarthy because he believes that the end justifies the means. The Church has always opposed this philosophy. McCarthy justifies any method at all on the ground that it is necessary to combat Communism, and he has persuaded many Catholics to go along with him on *this; in doing so Catholics are actually* "sinning for a good cause"—an action which the Church has condemned as false.

Finally, Catholics should denounce McCarthy for diverting Americans from the threat of Communism abroad. Even Bishop Fulton J. Sheen argued in a recent TV program that the real issue is whether we shall be undermined at home. The tragedy is that McCarthy has exploited the fear of Communist infiltration at home for the purpose of gaining publicity and political power. Too few Catholics realize this and instead look upon McCarthy as alerting this country against the danger of Communism. For diverting us from our real danger and for using the diversion for purposes of achieving personal power, McCarthy becomes a real threat to our security and peace and should be castigated as such.

VINCENT P. DE SANTIS
University of Notre Dame

► The Two-Party Debate

I congratulate the *New Republic* on its presentation of the Arthur Schlesinger and Richard Strout articles, as well as relevant comments on our party system. May I add a few footnotes?

It seems to me that distinctions *can* be drawn between our two major parties. Both parties are umbrellas for diverse groups; but the Democratic umbrella is generally the larger; and the hand that holds the handle of the Republican umbrella would seem to be the hand of big business; and there isn't much room under the Republican umbrella for the small businessman, the farmer, labor, and the independent voter. (I should add that the umbrella is painted as a much larger affair in the campaign season, but that it starts shrinking after the November weather sets in.)

Certain other observations are appropriate:

(1) Schlesinger properly emphasizes the Presidency. Our system seems to work best when we have a strong President; some of our present troubles can be traced to our politically naïve and politically inept President, whose weakness has created a vacuum into which

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the McCarthyatic bulls have rushed. There may even be need for a caretaker government, but where do we find it? Can we achieve the "rational" or "logical" party system without modifying our separation of powers doctrine?

(2) The British experience is often cited; yet I suspect that charges of platform-stealing can be made in Britain. To what extent do the Labor and Conservative parties present clean-cut alternatives on policy issues? To what extent is the British voter influenced by a "time for a change" slogan, by weariness and frustration, by his pocketbook? How relevant is the British experience to a nation vastly larger in area and population and with a greater diversity of racial, and national, and cultural traditions?

(3) Both our major parties are collections of state and local organizations, or machines (and it should be noted that we have rural or upstate or downstate, as well as big city, machines). It is true, too, that some of the professionals of both parties are more concerned with patronage than with principle; yet, it is true, too, that a major party can be the vehicle of reform, of progress, of the national interest.

As to citizen participation, one may attempt to correlate voting habits with the party system, and this approach may be valid. I suspect, however, that it is difficult to isolate any single item and call it *the* causal factor. The relatively light vote in the U.S.A. may be ascribed to other factors as well:

(1) The extreme mobility of the American people collides with numerous residence and other suffrage requirements;

(2) The frequency of national, state and local elections may induce some apathy;

(3) A stay-at-home vote may be a protest vote; or it may reflect a widespread view that there is little to be excited about; or it may reflect the view of those who feel that they have no great stake in our society.

(4) Our society has been built in large part upon the business ethic; many of us believe that success is measured in materialistic terms; and too many of us attach a stigma to politics and politicians.

(5) Another related factor is the sheer wealth and favorable position of America. We have been a most fortunate people; a high standard of living; wars kept from our shores; world leadership (even if thrust upon us). Up to this point in history, we have been able to have our cake and eat it too. And government has seemed a remote and generally irrelevant force to be turned to only in crises.

As a final note, permit me to enter a plea on behalf of the Democratic Party. There has been some loose talk about the incompatibility of Northern and Southern Democrats. It seems to me, however, that generally there has been Democratic unity *re* foreign policy and that the Southern wing of the Democratic Party includes many distinguished liberals *re* domestic, as well as international, programs. It seems to me, also, that the Northern-Southern Democratic blocs are much closer together on a combined foreign-domestic policy basis than are the Bricker-Eisenhower wings of the Republican Party. A Northern liberal may argue that *some* Southern Democrats are not liberal on domestic issues, but too many Republican isolationists compound their errors by being conservative or reactionary on domestic policies. Without alleging that the Democrats are a monolithic party, one can argue that the Republicans are hopelessly split. And this split is reflected in the current executive-legislative impasse.

JOSEPH E. MC LEAN

Princeton, N. J.

BANDWAGON

Sen. Everett M. Dirksen (R, Ill.) whose aide, Harold Rainville, also was excluded from the laboratory with Cohn, said he could not "make too much" of Cohn's reaction. Statements like "We are going to wreck the Army," or "This is the end of the Secretary's job" are "in the great American tradition" of temper in "the superlative," Dirksen contended.—*The Washington Post,* May 26, 1954.

"One of the greatest dangers to our nation's welfare," (said Johnny Jordan of Notre Dame, voted basketball's coach of the year,) "is the work of those who seek to curtail sports programs in schools and colleges. There are subversives . . . who realize they can undermine America by attacking sports." . . . "These subversives are all the more dangerous," Jordan points out, "because they act under the guise of attempting to destroy abuses in sport." . . .—*The Chicago Daily Tribune,* April 27, 1954.

An idea well worth considering, conceived by L. M. Rhaesa, of Bush Manufacturing in Clawson. He doesn't like the coldness of the "No Help Wanted" signs on many factories, suggests that "Sorry, No Help Needed" would do much psychologically for the disappointed worker.—*Detroit Free Press,* May 12, 1954.

Eisenhower . . . not only is politically naïve but is also so constituted that even if he knew the politically smart thing to do he wouldn't do it, because he disdains stooping to that level. He has surrounded himself with men of similar ideas and ideals.—Bill Henry, *Los Angeles Times,* May 2, 1954.

Mrs. Alice Mahnke, who recently returned from Europe, told the members [Republican Women of San Diego] that most of the people there "hope and pray" US citizens support McCarthy. She said she polled most of 2,000 immigrants on her ship returning to the US and found only one man against McCarthy. She added she reported his utterances to customs authorities and his entry to the US was prevented.—*San Diego Evening Tribune,* April 7, 1954.

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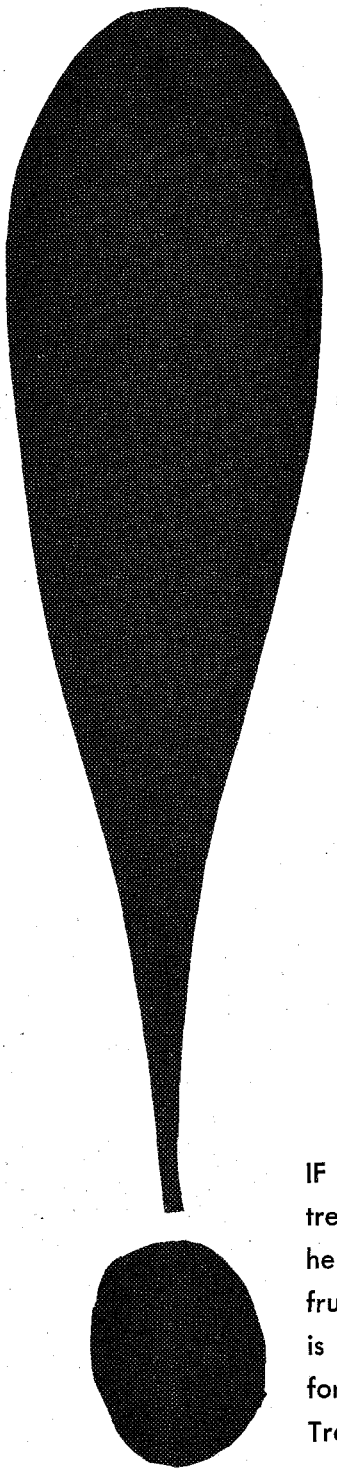

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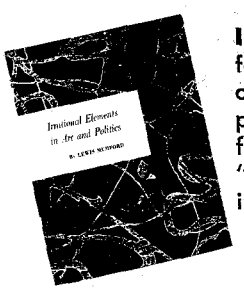

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